

29 March 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, Office of Regional and Political
Analysis
Director, Office of Strategic Research
Director, Office of Economic Research
Director, Office of Scientific Intelligence
Director, Office of Weapons Intelligence
Director, Office of Geographic and
Cartographic Intelligence

FROM : 25X1A
Acting Director, Center for Policy Support

SUBJECT : Proposal for Interdisciplinary Papers on
China

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1. has discussed a series of proposed multi-office papers with division and branch chiefs in the various offices addressed. The projects listed below represent a refinement of various ideas regarding useful topics that should be addressed by the directorate in the next year. The list, which is largely derived from the Directorate priority list under discussion by the Production Board, has been designed with several criteria in mind: (a) the projects should not be excessively burdensome on the respective offices which will undertake them, allowing ample scope for regular office production; (b) they should address high-priority issues of clear interest to policymakers concerned with China; (c) they should be projects which lend themselves easily to an interdisciplinary approach; and (d) they should be helpful in inducing a culture among directorate analysts concerned with China that further encourages and develops thinking and approaches problems along interdisciplinary lines. The last consideration was particularly in mind in drawing up the list. His discussions have led to a consensus that the issues should be approached along the following lines:

Foreign Trade: Politics and Prospects. The proposed paper would examine the political debate on the utility, scope and direction of China's

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OER on the allocation of resources. Given the scope and complexity of this paper, responsibility for shaping and monitoring the research and drafting effort might best lie in one office. In view of this, I suggest that [] do a major part of the drafting as well as assume overall responsibility for the project.

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25X1 The CSS-X-4: Missile and Warhead. This proposed paper would match on-going research on the CSS-X-4 missile now underway in OWI with research in the [] of OSI on Chinese warhead development. The joint paper would be a natural marriage of these two efforts.

Modernization in Science and Technology: Problems, Politics and Prospects. This proposed paper should assess China's needs and absorption ability in the science and technology area against the record of turmoil and political conflict of the past several years, with a backward glance at the disruption caused by the Cultural Revolution. The paper should give a better fix on the degree to which the political debate has been shaped and constrained by the actual facts of China's technological levels, and the degree to which present pressures for great attention to this field has been shaped by past political disruptions. A tentative assessment of the future trends in technology transfer should also be covered. This effort will somewhat redirect a research project already underway in OSI, adding to it a necessary political dimension. A joint drafting effort by appropriate analysts from ORPA and OSI is envisaged.

Agricultural Modernization: Politics and Prospects. This proposed paper would examine Chinese intentions and options in the agricultural field while taking into account the degree which political changes in Peking have inhibited or redirected efforts in this area. Institutional and organizational questions relating to the effort in the countryside would be examined. This paper would be organized and largely written by or under the direction of a senior OER analyst with a sizable integrated contribution from an appropriate

foreign trade which has been so prominent in the past two years, setting the political context against the economic realities in China. The paper would seek to identify the degree to which the political debate is shaped, modified and limited by the economic situation in China and the constraints imposed by that situation, on the one hand, while also examining the way in which economic options are constrained, redirected and modified by political pressures, on the other. A tentative projection of future trends would also be attempted. This is a well-defined and generally manageable subject, with considerable data available; it might be considered a pilot project which would serve to identify difficulties in undertaking a truly interdisciplinary paper in the China field. Action would lie jointly with an ORPA and an OER analyst, who would undertake joint drafting to the extent feasible. OSI has been asked to make a contribution to this effort in the technology transfer area; this contribution would be essentially a fallout from research project already largely completed in [redacted] and would require little additional research.

Military Modernization: Problems, Politics, Prospects. This proposed paper would be a major undertaking on a subject of great importance and currency. It would seek to define more clearly the scope of the debate on the issues of military modernization which has been observed fitfully in the Chinese press as well as in party documents over the past three years with a backward glance to the major decisions of 1969-73. The paper would attempt to specify the issues under debate by examining the propaganda, the documents, and the Chinese weapons programs and force structure in mutual context. It would refine our understanding of ways in which political conflict shapes the pace and scope of the Chinese military development effort, on the one hand, and of how on-going programs affect the issues under debate, on the other, and how budgetary considerations affect both. Such a paper should improve our understanding of the Chinese decision-making process and give us some insight into Chinese military strategy. Major drafting responsibilities would lie in ORPA and in OSR, with an important contribution from

ORPA analyst. Work would be undertaken later this year, as resources become available in OER.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons: The Program and Chinese Military Doctrine. This proposed paper would examine the proposition, based on recent as well as long-standing evidence, that some Chinese nuclear warhead designs are suitable for the development of a tactical nuclear weapons capability and that the Chinese are in fact developing such a capability. On-going analysis in OSI of the nuclear weapons design/test program, together with information from

combined with more diffuse material on deployment being examined in OSR should provide more precise clues regarding Chinese military doctrine as it relates to theater warfare. A systematic examination of this question would break virgin ground. The effort would be undertaken jointly by seasoned analysts in OSI and in OSR with a significant input from OIA.

2. Two additional research efforts are obvious candidates for follow-on attention as work on the papers just described matures. One project would examine Industrial Modernization, treating the interplay of politics and economics as in the papers on agriculture, foreign trade, and military modernization while also defining issues related to organization and industrial management. This would be a joint OER-ORPA project, with OER taking the lead. Another logical area would be to apply methodology for estimating Soviet grain output developed in OGCR to the China problem. Formidable technical problems preclude early production of finished intelligence, but OGCR expects to start in a tentative way this year. Full application of the method could take as much as three years. This should be done in close consultation with OER.

3. Your views of these projects, which are designed to provide a broad range of interdisciplinary papers in the China area, would be most useful if received by 8 April. We could then work out differences, should any show up, in order to table this proposal for general discussion at the Production Board Meeting on 18 April.

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TRANSMITTAL SLIP		DATE 29 Mar 77
TO: CPS China File		
ROOM NO.	BUILDING	
REMARKS:		
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ROOM NO.	BUILDING	EXTENSION

FORM NO. 241
1 FEB 55

REPLACES FORM 36-8
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